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discovered corresponding with the particulars laid down, the proper course, I should imagine, would be, in the absence of other proofs, to fix the date accordingly, until actual proof to the contrary could be adduced."

The following papers were then submitted to the Meeting.

THE SCANDINAVIANS IN LEINSTER.

BY HERBERT FRANCIS HORE, ESQ.

DR. LEDWICH tritely observes in his "Antiquities of Ireland" that archæologic topics, which are naturally involved in obscurity, are not easily exhausted, even by the most sedulous investigations, and particularly Irish archaic subjects, which, in an enlightened view, are a new study. To the circumstance that the Doctor derived his descent from Danish ancestors, we owe the industrious vehemence with which he pursued his theory that the Danes were the primary civilizers of Erin. His theory was novel, for hitherto his heroes had been reversely regarded. Many of his errors have been pointed out, and his exaggerations reduced. Yet enough of verity remains, taken in conjunction with the additional information others have gleaned, to enable us to perceive that the Scandinavians played an important and valuable part in old Ireland.

For all that England, in the imperial meaning of the word, owes to her ancient Scandinavian inhabitants, we refer our readers to the agreeable pages of Worsaae, and the enlightening introduction of Laing to his "Chronicles of the Kings of Norway." The commercial probity of English merchants, that *sterling* quality which, combined with their mercantile adventurous spirit, has elevated them and the entire nation of Great Britain to unparalleled prosperity, is undoubtedly derived from their *Easterling* ancestors. Trade has small beginnings; and if we may ascend from modern greatness to archaic origins, let us notice that the title "*Easterlings*," is historically peculiar to the merchants of the Hanse towns;¹ those sturdy traders whose old league still keeps its bond, and has long enabled their petty republic to hold an independent and peaceful place amid the storms of European war.

Our space does not permit us to do more than notice a few sea and land marks bearing on the somewhat obscure history of the Scandinavians who settled in the south-east of Ireland prior to the Norman invasion. We are, however, enabled, at the least, to give our

¹ Communes.

readers one original and curious document respecting the first Teutonic colonists of this district, viz., a transcript and translation of an inquisition setting forth the legal condition of the Oustmanni, East-men, or Ostmen, of the Liberty of Wexford, during the thirteenth century. This record certainly discloses these Easterlings under a different phase to that which, from their mercantile character, we should have anticipated. They appear as a rural, not a civic, people. Our readers will also observe one or two ancillary points of interest in the document, which, nevertheless, derives its value from being one of the very few records bearing on the social and political state of the earliest Teuton settlers; who, being cognate to succeeding and numerous swarms of Norman and Anglian extraction (the forefathers of whose races had also come forth from the great northern hive), merged speedily, under the same laws, language, and loyalty, into the general body of the seaport town Englishry, and, therefore, soon became socially, historically, and in almost every other point, indistinct.

Although our oldest native annalists, who, by-the-by, lived remote from the South-Eastern seaboard, do not chronicle any Scandinavian invasion of earlier date than the eighth century, we will venture to quote other authorities.

“In the yeare of Christ 586, the people of Norway were Lordes and victours of the Ilandes in the West Ocean called Orchades, and great scow-rers of the seas: a nation desperate in attempting the conquest of other Realmes: as being sure to finde warmer dwelling any where then at their towne home.”

So wrote Campion in his quaint “*Historie of Ireland*,” with more quaintness than, it may be, authority. He proceeds to tell how “these fellows lighted into Ireland.” We will not follow him, but turn to another chronicle, of little better value, the text of Chancellor Dowling, who records that the Norwegians, warlike men, bold, robust, rapacious, and much given to conquer the kingdoms of others, having acquired the Orkneys and other Scottish isles, came thence into Ireland in the time of King Lao-ghaire and of St. Patrick. He adds that, from their time to that of Turgesius, no less than thirty-three Norse kings reigned in Ireland. For ourselves we entertain a private theory in regard to these apocryphal sovereigns; but deem it too vague and tedious to put in type. Every schoolboy knows that the great Danish and Norse invasions, which inundated all the coast and land of Britain, and submerged a vast northern province of France, took place during the ninth century. Is it not probable that these mighty incursions had far anterior precursors? It seems from that valuable record the “*Book of Rights*,” that the Danes of Dublin asserted that their ancestors had been settled in the metropolis so early as the fifth

century, and had been converted to Christianity by St. Patrick. There is also the tradition that this missionary baptized the renowned bard, Ossian, the son of Fionn Mac Comhal, and father of the warrior Oscar. At whatever period the conversion of the Scandinavians of Dublin took place, it is clear that the bishops of Armagh, the successors of St. Patrick, assumed metropolitan authority over them.¹ These bishops were hereditarily of the (we suggest) Scandinavian-Gaelic race of the Airgialla, in whose territory Christianity made its advent in Ireland.

According to our chroniclers and historians, Dublin was taken by the *Finn-goill*, or fair-haired strangers, in 836. The first recorded attack of the Danes dates forty-one years earlier. Are they likely to have come in such strong force as to have seized and held possession of the site of Dublin almost suddenly? We say the *site* of Dublin advisedly, because it is the opinion of our most eminent antiquaries that *Athcliath* (as the Gael styled the metropolis) was but, as its name signifies, *a ford of hurdles* at the epoch in question. Still, the invading Ostmen may then have effected the settlement subsequently named Ostmantown. It is surely more consistent with analogous conquests, that such an acquisition was consequent on the accession of a large force, sent specially from the fatherland to aid the old colonists in wresting principal places from the already half-expelled natives; and these colonists may have descended from men who adventured from Scandinavia, or, as semi-Gaels, from the Scottish isles, at so remote a date as to have almost lost their nationality. Such a change in them would make their native annalists ignore their existence. Harald Haarfager's Saga dates the capture of Dublin in the reign of this monarch. Agreeably to this authority, the king gave some ships of war to Thorgill and Frode, with which they went westward on a cruise. The saga says, "They were the first of the Northmen who took Dublin." Yet, that a warlike seizure occurred first ~~at~~ that time does not controvert our reasonable presumption, that Scandinavians had settled long previously in this seaport. The young metropolis is said to have been taken by the unusual stratagem of catching and letting loose a number of swallows with lighted sponges tied under their wings;—away they flew to their nests, and the thatched roofs of the puny city were presently in a blaze.² The conqueror Frode was poisoned in Dublin: but Thorgill was for long time king of the city, until he fell into a snare of the Irish and was killed.³ "Tomar," says the bardic author of the "Book of Rights," was "king of *entrenched* Athcliath." From this allusion in the tenth century, little can be adduced, save that it favours our belief that the Danes were the first to form earthen entrenchments. But the very remarkable consideration shown by that

¹ "Book of Rights," xii.

² Olaus.

³ Laing's "Chronicle," p. 304.

bard for the "Galls of Dublin" seems to prove they were then in formidable force, sufficient not merely to hold their own against the natives, but to overawe them. It must be borne in mind that the populations of the periods in question were very thin. Want of sustenance at home impelled the Norwegians to become fishermen, pirates, hardy mariners, and colonists. It does not appear that more than three or four thousand men could be supported in one body by any king of Norway.¹ A fleet that brought invaders probably conveyed a much less number of men. It was peculiar to the vik-ings, i. e. inlet-men, to come, not in shoals, like herrings, but in "schools," like salmon, into our wicks, or bays; and wherever they settled in any number they formed fishing villages, which grew into seaport towns.

Giraldus Cambrensis clearly tells us the real mission of the Danes in Ireland. They were living here in considerable numbers during his sojourn; and he simply says that they had settled near the best harbours, where they had built themselves towns; and that they had by no means come to the country as enemies, but with the design of carrying on a peaceful trade. Dublin, Limerick, and Waterford were to them as Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay to our Indian merchants in the days of Clive; and the native kings, O'Brien of Ceanncora, and O'Melaghlin of Tara, as formidable, yet vincible, as Tippoo Sultan and the Great Mogul. It was reserved, however, for cognate successors, the Normans, Anglo-Danes, Saxons, and Gallic-Flemings, to effect a fuller conquest of Irish territory. Teutonic power in Ireland was not full till the reign of the Stuarts; and had fluctuated in its strength and weakness during, it seems to us, a thousand years. It is said to have been at the lowest ebb after the battle of Clontarf. Yet, for what purpose did the Irish, after their victory, permit the vanquished to remain, as they did, in the metropolis? Let us believe the assertion that, in provident policy, and aware of native repugnance to maritime and commercial affairs, the victors "left no Danes in the kingdom, except such a number," says our authority, "of artisans and merchants in Dublin, Waterford, Cork, and Limerick, as could be easily mastered at any time, should they dare to rebel; these King Brien very wisely permitted to remain in these seaport towns, for the purpose of encouraging trade and traffic, as they possessed many ships, and were experienced sailors." Such is the account given in the MS. entitled "*Cath Chluana Tarbh*," i. e. the battle of Clontarf. Doubtless, the effect of this victory, however its importance has been magnified, was national. Another ancient MS., "*The Wars of the Irish and the Northmen*," now about to be published by two of our most distinguished antiquaries, declares that, immediately after the grand

¹ Laing's "*Chronicle*," ii. 308.

success at Clontarf, "there was not a threshing spot from Howth to Brandon in Kerry without an enslaved Dane threshing on it, nor a quern without a Danish woman grinding on it." King Brien of the Cow Tribute evidently knew the value of skilled labour in political economy, when he left the Easterlings free to carry on the advantageous and peace-producing pursuits of commerce. Douald Mac Firbis, skilled in genealogy, says, that in his time (1650), "most of the merchants in Dublin were the descendants of the Norwegian-Irish King, Olaf Kueran." But this assertion is to be taken *cum grano*, for Henry II. established a colony from Bristol in our metropolis. Without proposing to give all the scattered notices we could collect on the subject of the Ostmen of our archæologic district, we will make two or three notes from our records. By the Calendar of Patent Rolls it appears that one, at least, of the conquered in Dublin, namely, Cristin, "the Ostman," ceded to Strongbow a house which the Earl afterwards granted to De Ridlesford. The domicile was situated outside the gate of Dublin. Some reader versed in metropolitan archaic lore may, perhaps, be induced to favour us with an account of all relating to the Scandinavians of Dublin, and of Fingal (*Fionn-gall*, i. e. the fair-complexioned foreigner), their principal rural colony. Campion states that the Plunket family possessed "special monuments," proving that their ancestors "came in with the Danes." The chief nobleman of this loyal feudal race might then well receive the title of Earl of Fingal. Probably the Harolds of the Wicklow borders had the same Teutonic origin. John Harold was sheriff of Waterford, temp. Edw. I. ("Cal. Pat." p. 3.) There was a Hubbard's town, near New Ross, now called "Hobart." Port Lairge, the Erse name for Waterford, is believed by the learned editor of the "Miscellany of the Celtic Society" to have derived its appellation from a Danish chieftain, Lairge, or, as the Danes write it, Largo, who is mentioned by the Four Masters at the year 951. The name *Vedra-ford* is supposed to signify "weather fiirth." The termination of the names of three of the four provinces, "ster," is declared (see page 170, *supra*) by our best philologist to be Danish. Doubtless the words *ter* derives from the Latin *terra*, as in Finisterre. The extent to which Scandinavian nomenclature of places in Ireland was adopted by the cognate conquerors under Henry II. demonstrates the fulness of possession in which the Northmen held Irish ports and harbours. The Gael might enjoy Sliabh-Gallen and Maghleana, the mountain and the moor, but the Teuton lived in the cities which commanded the island. Oxmantown, or Villa Ostmannorum, perhaps the nucleus of our metropolis, Waterford, Wexford, Wicklow, Carlingford, Strangford, &c., were so completely theirs as to retain their names. Most of the sea-marks around our shores attest the maritime occupation of the vik-ings. *Sker*, or

shjar, a reef, gave names to the various “skerries.” *Vik*, an inlet or bay, is found in Wicklow, Blathwyc, and Workingsfrith, now Larne Lough, in Ulster, and Smerwick, or St. Mary’s Wick, the landlocked haven in Kerry. The Hill of Howth obtains its designant from the Scandinavian *hofud*, head, a name as well adapted as that of Holyhead, on the opposite coast. *Ore*, or *eyre*, or *ayre*, a strand, spit of land or sand, the term still used in the Orkneys, and giving name to the famous “Nore” in the Thames, is also found in Greenore Point, Carnsore, (perhaps) Roslare, &c. *Ring*, a promontory of much the same character as an *ore*, is found in Ringsend, famous as the old point of debarkation for Dublin; Raven Point, at the mouth of the Slaney; and Ringrone, near Kinsale. It has been supposed, seemingly erroneously, to have also given name to “Ring” Tower, the singular round fortalice which, more than seven centuries ago, commanded the navigation of the river at Waterford, and still stands, in stern historic significance, at the head of the city’s quay. This supposition, however, is contradicted by the appellation *Turris Reginaldi*, used by Cambrensis for this fortress, of which “the officer, Gillemaire,” was, as the Four Masters record, taken by the Anglo-Norman invaders; and is also controverted by the following original extract from a record, in which, it would seem, another designation is given to this antique tower. The entry is in Add. MS. 4793, in the British Museum, taken from a record, probably in Bermingham Tower, to which the date 1226 is assigned, of a plea of accusation against Robert le Waleys (the Welshman), for having killed John, son of Ivor Mac Gillemory. By our notes from this MS. it appears to be stated in the record that Reginald Mac Gillemory, “*homo dives, et valdè potens*,” lived in “Renaud’s castell.” Not to be more unpardonably wanting in candour than pardonably full of antiquarian eagerness in having produced even a fragment of evidence, we must notice that this record is to be found, differently dated, in Davys’ “*Discoverie*,” with this introduction:—

“The meere Irish were not onely accompted aliens, but enemies; and altogether out of the protection of the law; so as it was no capital offence to kill them; and this is manifest by many records. At a gaol delivery at Waterford, before John Wogan, lord justice of Ireland, the 4th of Edw: the Second, wee finde it recorded among the pleas of the Crown of that yeare:—‘*Quod Robertus le Waleys, reatus de morte Johannis filii Ivor Mac Gillemory felonice per ipsam interfecti*,’ &c. *Venit et bene cognovit quod prædictum Johannem interfecit: dicit tamen quod per ejus interfectionem feloniam committere non potuit, quia dicit, quod prædictus Johannes fuit purus Hibernicus, et non de libero sanguine*, &c. *Et cum Dominus dicti Johannes (cujus Hibernicus idem Johannes fuit) die quo interfectus fuit, solutionem pro ipso Johanne Hibernico suo sic interfecto petere voluerit, ipse Robertus paratus erit ad respondend’ de solutione*

prædict. prout justitia suadebit. Et super hoc venit quidam Johannes le Poer, et dicit pro Domine Rege, quod prædict' Johannes filius Ivor Mac Gillemory, et antecessores sui de cognomine prædict' à tempore quo Dominus Henricus filius imperatricis, quondam Dominus Hiberniæ, Tritavus Domini Regis nunc, fuit in Hibernia, legem Anglicorum in Hibernia usque ad hunc diem habere, et secundum ipsam legem judicari et deduci debent.' And so pleaded the Charter of Denizenation graunted to the Oostmen recited before; all which appeareth at large in the said record."

Davys' extract does not include the passage, if there be one, mentioning Reginald's tower. As this archaic question is one of far less curiosity than two other points which are touched in this record, we turn to them, and offer a few brief remarks. By the statement that the slain man was his lord's "Irishman," we obtain a startling insight into the slavish condition, not merely of Celtic *naifs*, or natives who had been enthralled, but even of some Scandinavians, who also, as it appears, had been treated as a conquered race. For the other, and still more interesting historical point, namely, the legal light in which the native Irish were regarded:—whether the slayer of John M'Gillemory, when ready to pay the dead man's owner for the loss he had sustained, offered compensation under the Brehon code, or under some law that provided pecuniary reparation in such cases, are questions we cannot answer, farther than in remarking that the Gaelic code would hardly be observed within the walls of Waterford. Attorney General Davys understood that the Brehon law was observed in this instance—a legal opinion from which we respectfully differ.

However this point may have been, let us not pass over our learned author's concluding remark, that "our law neither protected the life, nor revenged the death," of an Irishman. By some modern and over-sensitive writers, this apparent negligence on the part of "the law" has been pointed to as the climax of English misrule; yet, it may be answered, that the law can deal only with subjects, and not with national foes.

Worsaae observes that architectural remains of Scandinavian sway in Ireland are very rare. The fortalice on the quay of Waterford is the only monument this usually indefatigable inquirer makes mention of. To verify any conjectural adscription of buildings, so ancient as to have stood in the time of Strongbow, to Scandinavian origin, is necessarily a task of which the *data* are too obscure. We may venture to ascribe this origin to the few under-mentioned types of this peculiar style of architecture, with the observation that its characteristics are circular form, unusually thick walls, and narrow apertures:—Hook Tower, a fit eyrie for the human ospreys of the tenth century, whose unguilty prey was taken on the Nymph bank; Arklow castle, or at least the circular tower, still gray with moss and green with ivy, and anciently, it may be,

the stronghold of the Mac Dubhgalls, i. e. sons of the black strangers, or Danes, whose appellative is now modernized to Doyle, a name common in Leinster cabins, and well known in May Fair;—and Inchiquin castle, a remarkable ruin, massive and antique, standing at the head of a small estuary near Youghal, and named from Cu-inn, i. e. the hound of the waves, who, doubtless, was a very active scourer of the seas.

Masters of the sea, the vik-ings flitted from port to port throughout the straits of north-western Europe, ravaging where they landed, and taking ship again whenever likely to be overpowered. We read in history that some enterprising chiefs who had settled in Ireland led incursions into wealthier lands. Sigurd, son of King Ingial, the Ostman, King of Waterford, and Sydroc the younger, and another Sydroc, King Ivar's son, conqueror of Dublin, headed an invasive expedition to the coasts of Gaul.¹ In 852, Sidroc, "an Irish Dane," entered the Seine, and threw up fortifications in a position which subsequently acquired celebrity, Jeufosse, an insular site in this river that long continued to be a stronghold whence many destructive excursions issued forth.² Sir Francis Palgrave, from whose erudite first volume of the "History of Normandy" we quote, observes that the Danes who obtained virtual mastery of France were not numerous. "In England," writes he, "not only the ancient Danelaghe" (or Danish countries, which included no less than the north-eastern quarter of England) "but many other districts, retain, and retained, the records of their preponderance in the names of places and the aspect of the people. Our institutions also recall their memory. But in France, even in the countries where they settled and naturalized themselves, nigh the Loire, where they colonized, in Normandy, where they ruled, they were completely absorbed amongst the Romanized population. Like a stage procession, winding in and out, disappearing and returning, their numbers were magnified by their activity. If it so happened that they were in danger of being hit, they evaded the blow; when their stores were exhausted, they departed till the next harvest, and sought a harvest elsewhere."

Sir Francis wrote this paragraph with liveliness and judgment. The piratic vikingar could hardly have been accompanied by any of the gentle sex in their marauding and colonizing voyages; so they would have taken to themselves wives of the Romane-Frankish and Gaulic natives, and their posterity, speaking the mother tongue, would virtually become French in the second generation. Such, indeed, were the similar circumstances which resulted after the subsequent invasion of the Normans, who, how-

¹ Palgrave's "Normandy," vol. i., p. 429.

² Ibid., pp. 447, 451.

ever, retained, as the aristocracy of northern France, many national peculiarities, excepting language, more completely. Still, we imagine that the Scandinavian fishers and seamen of the north coast of France retained much of that fraternized isolation which is observable in communities following their callings; and history assures us that the best sailors and commanders of the French navy were born in this Dane-peopled border.

It is also worth notice that the eminent philologist, M. E. Du Meril, has traced nearly all maritime words in use by the French to the language of Scandinavia, the northern *officina gentium*, whose hardy sons so often made the deep their home. Very many a vestige of these seamen-settlers remains, of course, all along the coast of Normandy, since their footsteps on these strands were not obliterated either by succeeding waves of invasion, or by down-pourings from the inland countries. Modern Denmark, justly proud of her former sons, who, a thousand years ago, issued forth from her ports, and founded the Anglian and Norman races, the most distinguished in Europe for courage, chivalry, and adventure, has recently taken the lead, with a species of paternal pride, in directing inquiry into all historic and archæologic monuments of these foremost adventurers. M. Adam Fabricius, Professor of History in Denmark, has lately, under royal commission, similar to that of M. Worsaae, followed his inquiring steps diligently, and has lately published his researches regarding the Northmen in Normandy. He found much of nomenclature, which, as in Ireland, establishes the sites of favourite haunts of the vikingar: such as Craquevik (Creek-wick?), Pilvik (the wick of a pill, or tidal inlet?), and Fisigart, near Dieppe, corresponding to Fishguard, i. e. the fish reservoir, on the Pembroke-shire coast. With these researches in foreign lands we have much in common; and may further say, that, as these etymologists derive the most heroic name in English naval annals, Nelson, from the Danish Niel, i. e. Nigel, the black, we are tempted, however far-fetched our analogy, to attribute the boldness in maritime exploits of Nial of the Nine Hostages (believed to be the king mentioned by Claudian as having led naval excursions against Britain) to Scandinavian blood, evidenced in his name.

The Scandinavian settlers in the seaports of Erin cannot be traced as a distinct people for more than about a century and a half after the invasion of 1169. Henry II. evidently recognised them as kindred to his own subjects, and being sensible of their use as traders, extended the benefit of English law to, at the fewest of them, those of Waterford, and he may have endowed those of Limerick with the same valuable privilege. Perhaps the commercial jealousy of the Bristol adventurers he established in the metropolis may have prevented its Ostmen from also receiving a

charter of denizenation. It may also have been, that consequently, having been isolated as regards the law, the Dublin Easterlings continued in civic separation in a suburb of their own. As the conquered Ostmen of Wexford were under the seigniorship of Strongbow, they passed to his heirs, and therefore could not be enfranchised by the crown. There may have been an Ostman's town in other cities besides the metropolis, just as also there was an Irish town. These national *faubourgs* must have been more occasioned by difference of law than by other causes. It is no jest to say that "Liberty boys" enjoyed certain franchises within certain bounds, as we know that all Alsacias had their origin in privileges. In the year 1201, Easterlings were so numerous in Limerick as to have been placed on an equal footing with the English and Irish inhabitants, since we find the jury of an inquest, of this date, composed of an equal number (twelve) of each nation.¹ This thriving port, situated at the end of the tidal flow of the Shannon, that extensive resort of salmon, probably owes its origin to a settlement of vikings, who, unquestionably, constructed the first *lax*—i. e. salmon—weir on the site where the great "lax weir" stands. In 1283, Edward I. enforced the benevolent charter of Henry II. in favour of the Ostmen of Waterford, in the case of certain of their number, namely, the family of Mac Gillemory, who required to be dealt with according to English law. As this confirmatory charter of denizenation,—granted by "the English Justinian," the subduer and sage law-giver of the northern Welsh, and who would most willingly, of course, have extended the sunbeam of sound laws to the Celts of Ireland,—is incorrectly printed in Davys' "Discoverie," we now give the correct reading from the Appendix of Worsaae, to whom a copy of the document was communicated by Mr. Hardy, the obliging and excellent custodian of Records in the Tower of London, where the original is in a Patent Roll of 11 Edward I.:—

"Pro Oustumannis Waterfordi in Hibernia, Rex Justiciario suo Hibernie et omnibus aliis Ballivis et fidelibus suis Hibernie ad quos, etc., salutem. Quia per inspectionem carte Domini Henrici Regis, filii Imperatricis, quondam Domini Hibernie, proavi nostri, nobis constat quod Oustumanni nostri Waterford legem Anglicorum in Hibernia habere et secundum ipsam legem judicari et deduci debeat. Vobis mandamus quod Gillecrist Makgillemory, William Makgillemory, et Johannem Makgillemory, et alios Oustumannos de Civitate et Communitate Waterford, qui de predictis Oustumannis predicti domini regis proavi nostri originem duxerant legem Anglicorum in partibus illis juxta tenorem carte predictae habere et eos secundum ipsam legem quantum in vobis est deduci faciatis, donec alii de consilio nostro inde duximus ordinandum, etc. . . v. die Octobr."

¹ Worsaae.

The following document is printed from a transcript made for us from the original in the Charter House, Westminster, written on a small piece of parchment, and being an inquisition on the state of the Ostmen in the county of Wexford towards the close of the thirteenth century :—

“Omnibus has lras visur' vī auditur', Rob's de Imer sen' tūc Wes saīm. Nov'it univ'sitas vīa me ex mandato nobil' viri dñi W. de Valenc inquisitiōem cepisse sup redditibus s'viciis et cōsuetudinibus oustmann' forincecar' Com' Wes' p juratur' s'bsc'ptos. videlz Henr' Wythay, Will'm Marescall, Will'm de Kadwely, Clemente Cod, Joh'em le Styward, Rob'm de Amera, Rob'm de Arderne, David fil' Ric', Joh'em fil' Ph'i le Harpur, Joh'em fil' David le Harpur, David Cheure, et Adā Hay. Qui jur' dic' quod tempor' Marescallor' d'nor' Lagen' fuerunt infra Com' Wes' quin-quies vigint' oustmann' forinceci valde divites plura animalia h'ntes, Quor' quilibet suis temporibus reddere cōsueverint p annū p'positis Wes' ad duos t'minos anni sex den' p corpore suo scil' ad Pasch' et ad festū Sāi Mich'is et duos den' ad festū Sāi Pet'i q'd d'r ad vincul' p q'libet vacca q habebat ppriam, et q'tuor den' ad festū Omniū Sēōr' ne iret in exercitu. Et tres ob' in antñpno p blad' dñi sui metend' apud Rosclar' p uno die in anno. Et q'tuor den' p quolibet affr' et bove q habebat in festo Sāi Martini, v'l arrare p unoquoq affr' et bove dimid' acr' t're ibidē ad op' dñi. Dicunt vero q'd nūc nō sunt infra dēcom' nisi q'draginta oustmanni parv' boni habentes, et duodecim, qui' s'viant Anglic' et aliis p victu suo nich' in bonis habentes. Et dicūt q'd tempore Marescallor' solebant p'dci oustmanni ltram tenere de quo dño volebant infra com' p p'dcis redditibus et serviciis dño Marescall' solvend' et reddend'. Et q p'd'cus dñs n'r W. de Valenc' ip'os in eod' statu v'l melior' p salute anime sue et antecessor' suor' et successor' affectat tenere. Nec vult q'd aliquis vivens gen' portat v'l sustentat mortuar', nec p mortuis distīgatur: p'dcos oustmannos nūc existentes ab omnibus honeribus redditibus et s'viciis q' mort'm solebant sustinere dū vixerant ex mandato pd'ci dñi n'rī W. de Valenc' imppetuū clamogietos, dans eis dē ex eod' mandato dñi n'rī licentiam t'rām tenere de quo d'no voluerint infra Com'. Ita q'd decetero nō distīgantur p aliquo reddū reddendo v'l s'viciis faciend' nisi p ip'is qui vivi fuerint et scdm eor' facultates. In cuj' rei testim' p'sentibus l'ris sigillū meū una cū sigillo Thom' Hay, tūc vic' et sigill' p'd'cor' jurator' apponi feci.”

TRANSLATION.

To all seeing or hearing these letters, Robert of Imer, now seneschal of Wexford, greeting. Know all you that I, by order of the nobleman, Lord William of Valence, have taken an inquest on the rents, services, and customs of the foreign Eastmen of the county of Wexford, by the oaths of the subscribed—viz., Henry Wythay, William Marshal, William of Kidwelly,¹ Clement Cod, John the Steward, Robert of Amera,

¹ Kidwelly is the name of a castle and town on the coast of South Wales, which were long

in the possession of the De Loundres family.

Robert of Arderne, David son of Richard, John son of Philip the Harper,¹ John son of David the Harper, David Chever, and Adam Hay. Who, being sworn, say that in the time of the Marshalls, Lords of Leinster,² there were within the county of Wexford five times twenty foreign Eastmen, very wealthy, possessing many cattle; of whom each in his time was accustomed to render yearly to the bailiffs of Wexford, at two periods in the year, sixpence for his body, that is, at Easter and Michaelmas, and twopence at the feast of St. Peter ad vincula (1st August) for each cow belonging to himself; and fourpence at the feast of All Saints, that he should not enter the army; and three oboli in autumn for reaping the corn of his lord at Roslare for one day in the year; and fourpence for each steer and ox that he possessed, on the feast of St. Martin, or to plough for every steer and ox half an acre of land there, at the need of his lord. They say that truly there are not now within the said county but eighty Ostmen, possessing few oxen; and twelve who serve the English, and others, for their sustenance, and possess nothing in goods. And they say that in the time of the Marshals the said Eastmen were accustomed to hold land of whatever lord they wished in the county, paying and rendering the said rents and services to the Lords Marshal. And that our said Lord William of Valence desires to keep them in the same condition, or better, for the health of his soul, and of the souls of his ancestors and successors. Nor does he wish that any living people should be borne or sustained of the dead, nor distrained for the dead. The said Eastmen now existing are for ever free from all burdens, rents, and services which the dead were accustomed to sustain while they lived, by command of our aforesaid Lord William of Valence. Giving them, by the same mandate of our Lord, license to hold land of whatever lord they will within the county. Also, that they shall not be severally distrained for any rent to be rendered, or services to be performed, unless for they who are living, and according to their ability. In testimony of which I have affixed my seal to these present letters, together with the seal of Thomas Hay, now sheriff, and the seals of the aforesaid jurors."

This curious document must have been drawn up between the marriage of William of Valence to Joan Marshall (by which Valence became Lord of Wexford), and his death in 1296. This very eminent nobleman was half-brother to Henry III., and came over to England in 1248. He was created Earl of Pembroke after espousing the eldest co-heiress of this earldom. His monument in Westminster Abbey is one of the finest of the ancient tombs in that rich cemetery of the illustrious.

The Ostmen specified in this record probably dwelt in the vicinity of the county town. Their Waterford countrymen enjoyed

¹ The ancestor of this Harper may have been Welsh minstrel to Strongbow. Harperstown, near Taghmon, came by an heiress, Agatha Harper, in the fourteenth century, into the family of Mr. Hore Ruthven, its pre-

sent possessor.

² The Marshalls, Earls of Pembroke, were Lords of the Palatinate or Liberty of Leinster, one of the vastest fiefs ever held under the Crown.

an entire hundred, or cantred, called *Gall-ter*, i. e. the land of the foreigner; and now "Gaultier" barony, which was politically confirmed to them by Henry II. Roslare, one of the demesne manors of the lords of Wexford, and a fit abode for piscatory vik-ingar, may have contained an Ostman village. The Wexford Easterlings appear to have been free tenants; yet, at the same time, under the dominion of the lord of the county. They were not the *liberi* defined in Domesday Book as those *qui ire poterant quo volebant*—men unattached to any lord in a seignioral capacity. A degree of thralldom hampered their liberty, confining them within the bounds of the "Liberty of Wexford." The legal term "Liberty," as designating a district within which certain franchises held good, derives from the freedom semi-enthralled persons enjoyed within its limits. It would seem that these Ostmen were less unfree than the Gaelic Betaghs of the Pale, whose serfdom would form an interesting antiquarian topic, and whose enfranchisement was as moot a question in Dublin in the sixteenth century as the liberation of negroes is in the nineteenth in Washington. Even in the first-named century, seven-eighths of the galloglasses, those stout men-at-arms who bore the brunt of Irish battles, were slaves;—having, doubtless, for the most part sprung from vikingish captives to Gaelic bows and spears. A question may be raised whether "*oustmanni forinceci*" does not signify foreign Eastmen;—that is, others than the indigenous Ostmen of the district. Yet we cannot believe that foreigners would voluntarily settle under such conditions of thralldom. Referring to our Annuary, page 59, it will be seen that some tenants in the borough of Wexford held by "*Ostlacheis*," which tenure may have reference to this ancient people. The above record shows these sons of vik-ings to us as a pastoral, not a trading people. Probably their forefathers, when conquered, had been ousted from within their entrenchment in Wexford, and became tenants to the conquerors, still continuing to be serfs, paying each "two pence for his body" yearly, to the feudal lord of the conquerors. There is no trace of either any "Ostman" or "Irish" town as a subdivision of Wexford. However, the ensuing extract from Worsaae confirms, by a quotation from Cambrensis, to whose pages we cannot refer, our conjecture that the Ostmen had a peculiar town within each seaport city:—

"One of the chief causes that the Norwegians, in the Irish cities, maintained uninterruptedly their Scandinavian characteristics, and consequently their independent power likewise, was, that they not only lived in the midst of the Irish, but that, as Giraldus Cambrensis expressly intimates, they erected in every city a town of their own, surrounded with deep ditches and strong walls, which secured them against the attacks of the natives. They built a rather extensive town for themselves on the river Liffey, near the old city of Dublin, which was strongly fortified with

ditches and walls, and which, after the Norwegians and Danes (or Ostmen) settled there, obtained the name of Ostmantown, in Latin 'vicus' or villa Ostmannorum, i. e. the Eastman's town. Even the Irish chronicles, which attest that, as early as the beginning of the tenth century, the Norwegians in Dublin had well entrenched themselves with walls and ramparts, also state that in the art of fortifying towns they were far superior to the Irish. Ostmantown continued through the whole of the middle ages to form an entirely separate part of Dublin, and the gates of the strong fortifications with which it was surrounded were carefully closed every evening. Oxmantown (whence an Irish peer has obtained, in modern times, the title of Lord Oxmantown) was completely incorporated with Dublin. But to the present day the name of Oxmantown remains an incontrovertible monument of an independent Norwegian town, formerly existing within the greatest and most considerable city of Ireland."

The inquiring reader will find in Worsaae's work a brief account of the Scandinavian antiquities exhumed from graves in Kilmainham and the Phoenix Park. The former place, in propinquity to Inchicore, i. e. the island of the weir (a trap in which many a good fish has been taken while on its ascent to "saltu salmoni," or Leixlip), was a favourite seat of the vik-ings. These Pagan settlers used to bury articles of value, such as swords, axes, &c., with their dead. A glass-case full of such visible objects is better than a book-case of vague and dubious histories, for tombs reveal the condition of primitive races truly. Let us hear the comments of Worsaae on these sepulchral evidences of the condition of his ancient countrymen in Leinster, prefacing our quotation with the remark that the state of the useful arts among a people is the test, next to their advancement politically and intellectually, of their civilization:—

"Just as," writes he, "the proportionally numerous Norwegian graves near Dublin prove that a considerable number of Norwegians must have been settled there, so also do the peculiar form and workmanship of the antiquities that have been discovered in them afford a fresh evidence of the superior civilization which the Norwegians in and near Dublin must, for a good while at least, have possessed in comparison with the Irish. The antiquities hitherto spoken of only prove, indeed, that the Norwegians and other Northmen were superior to the Irish with regard to arms and martial prowess. But there are other Norwegian antiquities, originating in Ireland, and found both in and out of that country, which also prove that the Danes and Norwegians formerly settled there contributed, like their kinsmen in England, by peaceful pursuits, to influence very considerably the progress of civilization in Ireland."

Archæologists do not easily resign themselves to the inevitable reflection, that they are powerless to investigate the topics that may form their ephemeral pursuit within many degrees of the summer heat of research their retrospective imaginations desire. There is a proverb that "it is hard to keep an old hound from hunting,"

and antiquaries certainly will keep ever in chase of *their* objects; nay, more, will often give tongue (sometimes on false scents), and, again, crave, as we do now, the rest of the pack to take up the cry, and let all and every one hear them.

THE REGISTRY OF CLONMACNOISE; WITH NOTES AND INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

BY JOHN O'DONOVAN, LL. D.

THIS Registry is said to have been transcribed by direction of Muirchertach O'Muiridhe,¹ Bishop of Clonmacnoise, from the original entries which were in the life of St. Kieran, "fearing it might be obscured or lost." The original MS. of this Registry, as Archbishop Ussher, in his "Report on the Diocese of Meath," addressed to King James's Commissioners, states, was in existence in his time, "but had lately been conveyed away by the practice of a lewd fellow, who hath thereupon fled the country."

Transcripts of it were, however, in the possession of Archbishop Ussher, and of his friend, Sir James Ware, who had it translated into English by the celebrated Irish antiquary, Duaid Mac Firbis; and the autograph of this translator is preserved among Ware's MSS. in the British Museum, No. LI. of the Clarendon collection, 4796. It contains an account of the various lands granted to the church of Clonmacnoise by the several provincial kings and principal chieftains, as a purchase for the right of themselves and their descendants to be interred in a portion of the cemetery appropriated to their use.

This document is quoted by Crofton Croker in his "Researches in the South of Ireland," pp. 242, 246, but he takes for granted that it belongs to *Cluain Uamha*, or Cloyne, in the county of Cork, and not to Clonmacnoise, though the name of Cluaine m^c Noise is distinctly mentioned, and even if it were not, the name of St. Kyran, which is so often referred to as that of the patron saint of the place, should have convinced him that Cloyne, in the county of Cork, could not have been meant. It has been also quoted by Dr. Petrie in his "Inquiry into the Origin and Uses of the Round Towers of Ireland," pp. 263, 264, 270, 271, 368, 384; and by the Editor, in the "Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many," pp. 15, 80, 81,

¹ See Harris's edition of Ware's "Bishops," p. 170. The only bishop bearing a name like this was Muirigen O'Muirigen, who

died Bishop of Clonmacnoise in the year 1213. The date 1320, at the end of this document, is clearly wrong.